

\* /349 cont./

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Then Miriápura Turíkaró returned to Bajsebowí /sic/. He left Bajsebowí again and went toward Moawí. Moawí is two days from Mitú, going down the Vaupés River. In Moawí they were on the eve of holding a Dabukurí (18) of Moá (19).

[527]

• [431]

18. A ceremonial fiesta during which presents are exchanged.

[263]

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19. Salt obtained by boiling the carurú plant.

There was much joy in Moawí. Miriápura Turíkaró entered Moawí and remained there listening a while to what the Moá Majsa people were saying. In this maloca there were some single and married women sweeping the maloca of Moawí and they were speaking of the death of the younger son of Miriápura Turíkaró. And one woman said: "The younger son of Miriápura Turíkaró made love to the woman of the older son of Miriápura Turíkaró. The older son, in revenge, cut off his penis and killed him." Then another woman said: "How bad the Bajsebo Majsa must be if there is killing between brothers! What a pity, what a pity, what a pity." Then another woman said: "Do you know if the older brother buried his younger brother?" Then another woman answered: "He has not buried him. He only made a coffin of Imisa switches and above the port he made a little table, put the coffin on top of this table, and covered it with some leaves." And another woman said: "What a pity, what a pity, what a pity." Then Miriápura Turíkaró became frightened and returned immediately to Bajsebowí. He entered through one door of the maloca and left through the other and went directly to the port. From the port he took the trail to where the little table was and found the coffin on top of the little table. He lowered the coffin and opened it. Inside the coffin was the younger son of Miriápura Turíkaró. The younger son was really dead, but for Miriápura Turíkaró his /350/ younger son was only unconscious. Then Miriápura Turíkaró thought that he could revive him. Then Miriápura Turíkaró blew tobacco smoke over his younger son, and the younger son returned to life. Then

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He does nothing for the white without /151/ pay, and ordinarily he wants it in advance. The truth is that, as a rule, he does not deny his debts to the civilized; many times, however, he maintains that he has done more work and reduces his debts, in spite of the fact that the contrary appears in the entries made with precision and conscientiousness. He frequently lets the time go by, and sometimes he moves away or dies; and that is the end of that. The parents, brothers, children, or other relatives of someone who passed away, let us say in the mission hospital will present themselves at once as legitimate heirs to the shotgun, hammock, suitcase, or other objects belonging to the dead person. No one, however, becomes responsible for the debts of the deceased.

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In order to have them at his service, at the time of the *seringa* or the Brazil nut, the civilized must pay them in advance. It not infrequently happens that at the time of the work (*fábrica*, as is said in Amazonas) the Indian hides; or runs away after working for a time.

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He does not give gifts to the civilized, even though he has received many from him. He sells to him (17).

17. Episodes going so far as to be comic are told. A father, with the family, came to visit his son, who was a student at the Mission in Taracua, and brought with him dried fish and *beijú* /manioc bread/. And, squatting in a corner, they ate, as on a family picnic. Before leaving, however, he came to charge the Missionary the price of the fish and the *beijú*.

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At the time of our first excursion to the *Içana*, in 1953, accompanied by Pe. José Schneider, the latter took with him, among his helpers, a *tuxaua* of the *Mapatse-dákenei* (*Yuruparf-tapúia*) tribe. Like the others, he

/151 cont./

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• 431 /footnote 17 cont./ received, besides food and donations, daily service pay. When we arrived in Tunuf, he showed a small basket and beijú, saying that it was a gift that the Baniva from there had given him, but he asked the Pe. for salt, tobacco, and kerosene, "in order to give as thanks."

437 If he notices in the latter an interest in some native object, he demands a large payment (18).

[123] 18. For example, the Kubewana came to ask us for a shotgun for a sarabatana /blow-gun/ or a simple acangatara /feather head-ornament/.

When he offers something (beijú, fruits, dried fish), he immediately asks for an object of greater value.

They appear greedy in dealing with other Indians, and even with those of their own tribe. It is not rare that an individual, with his work or products, will acquire salt or tobacco in abundance in the Missionary center and later go to sell it to his fellow tribesmen with great usury. We have seen him acquire pots, mirrors, etc. in the Mission and with these small objects go to trade with those of the more distant malocas, receiving in exchange graters and canoes (19).

19. /This footnote is on p. 152 in the original source./ On our excursion to the Aiarí in May of 1957, one of our oarsmen, from the Siusi tribe, Ernesto by name, from the povoado of S. Ana (lower Içana), had acquired at the Mission in Assunção a shotgun valued at 1,200 cruzeiros. He took it with him, in order to exchange it for a sewing machine,

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The visitors deposit the offering on banana leaves or mats or baskets, displayed in the center of the maloca. Perhaps there is still more of the offering at the landing place; they go to fetch it and make their delivery.

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The women and children who have arrived gather at the back, where those of the maloca are already.

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Once the offering is finished, and the shouts and music have stopped, those from outside, starting with their tuxáua, greet individually those of the maloca, /343/ starting with the first one in line, who will, naturally, be the local tuxáua. They are the common and formalistic greetings: -- "Did you come?" -- "I came!" "Did you come to the feast?" -- "I came." -- "Did you bring the offering (fish or the name of the fruit)?" -- "I brought." He goes on to greet in the same way the second man in the line and thus all the rest. All the visitors, in the order of their reception, imitate the first one. All, however, with much gravity. As they finish greeting those of the maloca, the guests are arranging themselves in a long line, according to their importance, on the right side, in front of those of the maloca, from the main door to the back.

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Two or more men of the maloca distribute a cuia /shell from the Crescentia cujete/ of caxiri to each guest. After all have drunk, they sit down, and the women of the maloca come to greet the men at some distance and without giving them their hands. If the women are from the tribe of the guests, these greetings are in the dialect of their own tribe and not in that of the husband.

The chief of the maloca speaks in a loud voice to his own wife (one of the indications of the matriarchalism): "They came to bring the offering (fish, fruit), you give thanks." She, with two women, goes to the center of the maloca and says -- "You brought with so much trouble fish (pupunha) for us. We have prepared a little caxiri in a hurry." Then the visiting chief answers them: -- "You may eat at will. The fishing (or the harvest) was small, but we have brought it with good will."

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If the flight does not take place, the marriage is considered realized.

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A short time later they customarily take a nuptial trip, on which the young man, accompanied by his wife, goes to visit the father-in-law, taking him presents (smoked fish, fruit, etc.), and thus the friendly relations will be strengthened. These nuptial trips, moreover, appear in the legends.

\*[192]

The wife will take with her, for the new home, as dowry or property, her pi'kamō, that is, a small cipo basket, with her ornaments, utilitarian objects, and a cluster of leaves containing ōññā powder (carajurú /carajura/).

Immediately in the first days of the marriage the husband will give the wife a beating. He will hit her, however, with the hands, so they assured us; and she cannot react. Although it is a matter of a custom that aims at finding out the good will of the girl and her capacity for suffering, it seems, nevertheless, that it is the circumstance of some misunderstanding between the spouses that will provide the opportunity for this beating.

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a) /sic: 5/ Relations between the spouses.

The relations between the spouses are normal enough. Perhaps they might be called friendly (18).

[123]

18. We had the opportunity to travel with a Karapanā family from the headwaters of the Papurí and to see the wife in a long and cordial conversation with the husband.

although without caresses and other displays of affection, since it is certain that some familiarity will arise from their living together. The husband will fear that bad treatment will drive away the wife (19).

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19. Several episodes have been reported to us. In the beginning of 1954, during our stay in

pense and trouble. A hunter is not disposed to take risks with his small store of shot, powder, and percussion caps, and, since a man does not like to return empty-handed, a hunting party is formed only when its organizer is reasonably certain of success. As in any collective undertaking, any man who wishes to may join a hunting party. However, most parties that I have observed consisted of blood brothers or other sibmates who habitually hunted together. Hunters, of necessity, have a strong feeling for teamwork. The Cubeo are excellent marksmen, cool and courageous.

The big game is the tapir (*veköl*), who is awaited at a salt lick near a small stream. The tapir follows a customary route to the salt lick, arriving quite late in the afternoon. He has worn a trail as deep as a ditch in the soft earth. Among the maze of these deep pathways fresh tracks and fresh dung are the signs of current use. A man who has seen fresh tracks reports it. The hunters go out to kill a particular tapir who has already been observed, so that they may speak of him in personal terms.

Communities differ in hunting customs. Some use dogs to chase the animal through the forest. The *Bahúkiwa* method, which seemed quite successful, was to rendezvous with the tapir at his salt lick. The Indians are fond of tapir flesh, which is tender and tasty. I participated in only one tapir hunt with the *Bahúkiwa*. A large female was killed, toward dusk, as she nibbled on salted earth. We camped nearby, spending a good part of the night eating spit-broiled steaks and cutting up the animal for transportation home. The limbs came as entire pieces, and the rest of the flesh was cut into strips and neatly packaged in palm leaves. The men were very gay. They amused themselves by inserting sticks into the tapir's vagina. As the animal had been killed in the territory of another sib we stopped at the sib house and, as is customary, gave away about half the meat. The *Bahúkiwa* hunters were pleased at the opportunity to display both generosity and evidence of success. The remainder of the flesh was distributed at the home sib, each hunter making a personal presentation of a portion of meat. The Cubeo utilize nothing but the flesh of the tapir.

Hunting, in summary, is a distinctive pursuit and marks one for prominence. An aspirant for the headmanship is ordinarily a hunter. He pleases the community because he enlivens the diet and has surrendered some of his leisure in its behalf. In a special category is the hunter of the dreaded jaguar. Such a man is interested in sport and in prestige. The jaguar hunter may be solitary or he may invite a few close friends to accompany him. He brings home the hide for a

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## CUBEO

64 THE CUBEO

512 providing drinking parties. While prestige is not a negligible factor  
 534 in motivating production it is secondary to subsistence needs.  
 [433]

Compared to manioc, all other subsistence horticulture of trifling  
 241 significance. The list of Cubeo cultivations besides manioc is a lengthy  
 262 one, but except for the pupunha palm there is nothing on it that adds  
 bulk to the diet. Crops cultivated by the Cubeo include bitter  
 manioc (*kerika*), yam (*nydnu*), sweet potato (*yapka*), maize  
 (*kardiye*), and tabena (*mwā*), as well as the following unidentified  
 tubers: *kwaivdyo*, *waiwari*, *mod*, *pudju*, *kandha*, and *kabrka*. In  
 addition there are sugar cane (*kavimene*), pineapple, (*ihlbo*), banana  
 (*djwēye*), plantain (*ōne*), pupunha (*unē*), gourd (*horōbe*), calabash  
 [273] (*hahāmu*), coca (*patū*), tobacco (*butē*), and capsicum (*bya*). The  
 [415] pupunha palm is important only as an ingredient in chicha. Gourds  
 serve as vessels, and yams, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, and maize  
 barely supplement the diet. Sugar cane has become a most important  
 ingredient to chicha, and every community grows several varieties of  
 [273] melons. Most of the starchy tubers the Cubeo grow are used to lend  
 variety to chicha, not to the solid diet.

241 The Cubeo, as I have already observed, have a very strong feeling  
 for domestication. This covers plant as well as animal life. They are  
 eager to plant anything that comes recommended and to follow the  
 advice of experts. Some have planted coffee shrubs, although no one  
 [272] drinks coffee and they have no other use for the bean. One man built  
 an immense box on stilts which he filled with earth so that he could  
 plant onions safe from pests. Neither he nor anyone else in his com-  
 munity cared for onions. Sugar cane, as already noted, is mainly a  
 [462] male cultivation, but all other food products except for manioc may  
 be grown equally by either men or women. No plant is neglected and  
 the busiest woman seems to have time to look after her plantings,  
 which may be scattered all over the secondary clearing or inner plaza.

• [431] The produce of these scattered plantings, a melon or two, a handful  
 [421] of sweet potatoes, are often given as gifts from one household to an-  
 [457] other. Children, too, have their plantings.

Finally, every household has chickens, descended from stock  
 235 brought in by white settlers. Chickens belong to women, mainly, I  
 believe, because that is what the Colombians and Brazilians thought  
 [267] was proper. Although the Indians take good care of the chickens they  
 [439] do not ordinarily eat them, regarding them either as pets or trading  
 them to the occasional white man who comes by. In some communi-  
 ties, chickens roost in nearby trees — others provide roosting places  
 in the maloca. A few communities rear ducks in the same manner,

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will lack food, but that she will lack a role in chicha preparation and be deprived of trade goods. Her fear is for loss of status.

The *rhagra*, to summarize, is a well-defined item of property. It is the domain of a particular woman, in the sense of economics, in the sense of status, and, as mentioned earlier, as a kind of sanctuary. No other land in the community has this character of particularity. All other cultivations, including pupunha orchards, belong to the cultivator, but the land on which they are grown has no standing as personal property. Whereas the manioc gardens of a household have contiguity, to the point where a son clears a plot for his wife adjacent to that of his mother, the variety of its other cultivations are scattered over the entire settlement.

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With respect to all secondary crops, there is also very clear recognition of ownership. Each planting has its known owner, who may be a man, a woman, or a child. Ownership rights are scrupulously respected, and no one would consider disturbing another's plantings without permission. Tobacco, coca, and *mihi* are generally grown for the community by the headman, but are recognized, nevertheless, as his plantings. He also contributes to the community all of his pupunha harvest. But it is precisely because he contributes to the community that his ownership is clearly acknowledged. The point, of course, about Cudeo property relations is that generosity and sharing go along with the assertion of individual rights. The privilege of the individual as a *giver* is thereby respected. The least formal sharing involves sugar cane. It is understood that everyone is entitled to the simple refreshment of a freshly cut stalk of cane. Even so, adults who do not have cane of their own prefer an invitation. Children, on the other hand, do not stand on ceremony. Yet even a very young tot who is cutting a stalk does so with the announcement, "I am now cutting the cane of my older brother," or whatever the kinship connection may be.

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On the river, the masculine domain, the men have staked out sites for placing weirs and fish traps. The setting of weirs is the one territorial issue that disturbs the harmony between sibs along a river. Weirs are commonly set in a *caño*, in which case they are a purely intrasib matter. If, however, men block the main stream they are obligated to allow fish to pass through periodically. "Sometimes they forget," I was told, "and then we go and tell them. But if they are mean then we go at night and break up their weirs." Such disputes are not common. Within the sib the issue is not of weir rights but of specialization in fishing methods. A man develops a preference for weir fishing, he troubles to prepare the cumbersome equipment and

- 421 more possessive with objects of personal adornment. While the former objects circulate most freely within the sib, the latter tend to circulate more among blood siblings. Consonant with this attitude of casualness is an almost total lack of anxiety about loss of property. An improperly secured canoe drifts away and the owner makes no immediate effort to retrieve it. It will come to rest somewhere down stream, he reasons, where a sib or phratry mate will secure it or even bring it back. Children have access to cherished possessions of their parents and when there is damage or loss it is considered improper to scold. The young son of the *Bahúkiwa* headman asked for a prized clasp knife. The father, reluctantly to be sure, gave the child the knife. The next day the child had lost it in the river and the father accepted his loss without comment.
- 421 On one occasion a visitor from an upriver sib rose to leave, after having spent most of the day in amiable talk, and in a most casual voice said, "I will take my spear with me." A young man then went to his quarters and fetched the spear, which the visitor took as he departed. The young man explained that he had been at this man's house during a drinking party. He saw the spear and admired it and took it home without saying anything about it. Theft to the Cubeo is not a matter of purloining an object. It is entirely a matter of attitude. They ask, in a manner of speaking: Is the taking of an object an act of friendship or of hostility?
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## INHERITANCE

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423 Land, as already mentioned, is not an important issue in inheritance, mainly because the question of who has prepared a clearing for whom is too vital a matter for the Cubeo. A woman would find it unsettling to work land that a man not of the proper relationship had prepared. Daughters, of course, will work the land of a dead mother as they had worked with her when she was alive. Some personal objects are buried with the deceased; others, such as a woman's pots and a man's fishing gear, are destroyed. Some property, however, is inherited. Sons inherit from the father, daughters from the mother. Valuable and important objects go in inheritance, minor objects are destroyed, and symbolic objects are buried with the dead. The right to bequeath an object within the family is fully recognized. Ceremonial objects confer status and must go to the proper heir. I learned of no irregularities or disputes in the inheritance of ceremonial regalia. A man's gun and machete are valuable items and go to the son, but if the widow should remarry it is proper for the son to
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## ECONOMIC LIFE

present them to her new husband on the principle that the economic balance of the household should be maintained.

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## FOOD

Food passes among close kin and rarely goes outside the sib. The household is, of course, the primary food-sharing unit. Its members eat all informal meals together and up to a point where it becomes arrant discourtesy the members of a household are privileged to take all their meals separately. The maloca group, nevertheless, is the common body that shares the formal evening meal. The setup of the maloca is such that only small quantities of cooked food can be prepared over a household's hearthstones. Manioc cakes and large quantities of food call for the use of equipment that is the property of the maloca, having been presented to the maloca by the headman or by some aspirant to headmanship. No household, however, has to share food merely because it has been prepared on common equipment. The common equipment stands as a reminder that the maloca is indeed a single house occupied by a single family. People eat together because they are conceptually a single family. When members of a household are cross with others in the maloca they prefer to eat alone, for it seems absurd to the Cubeo to eat with someone with whom you are angry. Ordinarily, however, households breakfast alone; they may or may not have a midday bite with other households, and they will ordinarily take the evening meal, the major meal of the day, together. Unmarried girls eat with their parents; young men, however, enjoy the hospitality of each married brother's household. Independents, those members of the sib who are of the community but not of the same maloca, eat their ordinary meals separately and join the maloca for a gala feast, when there has been a great catch of fish, or when tapir or wild pig has been brought in. On such occasions a portion of the food may be sent to the Satellite communities, or the Satellites may be invited to come and take part.

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The following observed event illustrates some of the principles of distribution of game. Four hunters had shot and brought back four peccary, one animal each, as is customary. Three of the hunters were blood brothers, but of two different mothers, and the fourth was their father's brother. Among the brothers, two were unmarried. The youngest of the unmarried men presented his peccary to his mother, who singed it for him before he took it down to the river for butchering. The others made no formal presentation of their game but did their own singeing and proceeded to the river's edge to prepare their

serve, perhaps of suspicion, as though the meal had established a relationship between me and the "enemy." Because, at their insistence, I lived among the *Bahikiwa* as an "Independent" in a small hut of my own I shared only in the festive meals. But when I traveled with them and took part in what they were doing I shared in the food of whatever household I happened to be most closely associated with in the current activities.

Men give game and fish to their wives and to their mothers. If there is to be a further distribution to other women the wives and mothers usually make it. When a man gives fish or game to a girl whom he may marry he will have declared his intentions. In ceremonial friendship, food exchange between men and women is a most important token of closeness of relationship. In food preparation the Cuben follow the common tropical forest pattern: women boil, men bake and broil.

The visitor to a maloca is given a pepper pot (*bys*) in which to dip a bit of manioc cake. This offering of the pepper pot is a token of feeding; it may even be refreshing to a weary traveler but it is not food; it is in lieu of food. The casual visitor is received into the coolness of the house and is offered the visitor's bench near the door. When he is seated, the headman's wife appears with a small pot of boiled capsicum peppers which she sets on the ground before him. She withdraws after inviting him to eat. She then comes back with a tray on which is a manioc cake or a portion of one, sets this before the pepper pot, and withdraws. Then each woman of a household brings forward her own pot of peppers and adds manioc cake to the tray of the headman's wife. When the guest is alone with the pepper pots he leaves the bench, and, crouching, dips small bits of manioc into the pepper pot, taking care to taste of each. He does not eat as though hungry, but solemnly, just tasting. He returns quickly to the bench and the women come forward and remove the pots. That is the extent to which a guest is fed. The offering of *bys* and manioc cake has a precise meaning. It is enough food to betoken hospitality. On the other hand, the peppers are of a class of excitant substances that are suitable for the atmosphere of excitation when guests are entertained. Food formality is most marked among the elders and most relaxed among younger men either not yet married or newly wed. I have seen such young men visiting another sib mock the formalities of the pepper pot with their age mates and even join in a family meal. When they do so they make it clear that they are joking.

Within the maloca there are two eating arrangements. One, within the household, is informal, and the other, collective or maloca-wide, is formal. In informal eating, husband, wife, and children of both sexes

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123 passing by downstream, had paused among the *Bahúkiwa* to pay a courtesy call. The woman was hungry and drew some provisions to eat. She then noticed that I was looking at her as she ate, so she turned her back. Puzzled by this, I asked the *Bahúkiwa* headman what it meant. He said, "That is the way some people are." When the woman heard me ask, she reached in among her things and fetched out a mat which she set around her like a screen. From behind the screen she completed her meal.

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758 The Cubeos seem to regard food as markedly secular, and this may explain why the sick who are supernaturally afflicted must avoid all foods except for some manioc cake.

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[857] The play of young boys often involves food. The young male pack fishes for minnows, traps small game, and forages in the nearby forest for ants, grubs, and fruits. They share all food equally, except that a boy aspiring to be a leader takes a smaller share for himself. This attitude of leadership has its counterpart among adult males. Within the maloka a leader — not necessarily the headman — makes a point of sharing the food he has with the sib even if it is no more than a small fish. Those who are not leaders and who do not aspire to leadership consume small catches of game and fish in the household, reasoning that they have only enough for one family.

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● 431 In view of the symbolic significance of food, its involvement in leadership and in social intimacies, it is not surprising that a good part of social and individual pathology should involve disturbances of conventional patterns of sharing. Two kinds of disturbance came to my notice: one, the more common, a pathological nonsharing, and the other a pathological stealing of food. Nonsharing appears early in the male play pack and continues, I suspect, into adult life. Food disorders affect males far more because only they are expected to uphold the amenities of food sharing. Like their mothers, girls are attached only to a household, forming no play pack. If they forage for foodstuffs it is in company with their mothers and for the use of the household or the sib. Some boys in a play pack take the share of food that has been given them and hide behind a tree, crouch behind a bush, or turn their backs while eating. They are even stealthy in eating food that they have obtained by their own efforts. A boy [123] once came to my hut and asked for food. I gave him a banana. He crawled under a table, turned his back to me, and gulped it, while his companions were outside the door waiting for him to come out. I am certain they knew what he was doing, but even the youngest Cubeo boy has learned the courtesy of ignoring poor manners in

others. I doubt that any nonsharing goes unobserved and I expect that the nonsharer is not too concerned with being unobserved. Often enough, boys will quarrel about the distribution of food, but never with a nonsharer. They sense the significance of the gesture and are embarrassed by it, waiting for the delinquent to finish. He rejoins them and their play resumes as though nothing had happened. Elders will not correct nonsharing among children because they regard what the boys do in the play pack as a matter of no adult concern. I was never aware that the children themselves ever rebuked or punished a nonsharer in their midst. The nonsharer always received his portion. The play pack leader, who does not hesitate to censure a member for indecent sexual behavior, is comfortable in his role as a giver and will not censure a nongiver. He understands, to be sure, that nonsharing is a form of deliberate estrangement from the intimacies of the group, but he also knows that no headman will censure a household head who chooses to become an Independent or a Satellite. Similarly, the nonsharer may estrange himself from the play pack but the play pack will not ostracize him. Among the *Bahukiana* the flagrant nonsharer was also the boy who ran away during the ancestral whipping rites. Every example of a case of nonsharing that came to my attention (five or six only) was that of a boy who had no father. Orphan boys are deprived of one of the more pleasurable intimacies of receiving a portion of fish or game that a father brings home. A man's son is the first to greet him when he beaches his canoe. He is given a fish or a bit of meat, which he prepares by broiling or baking and shares with his play pack. He has the status of a giver. The orphan child, in these circumstances, has the lower status of a receiver and is denied a food intimacy. The nonsharer acknowledges at the same time a status of subordination as well as of estrangement.

Among adults, nonsharing is more disturbing and more consequential. A man who does not share food eventually refuses to do his share of work. Such a person is called "one who does nothing." A household head who is angry or out of sorts will not join the sib meal but will gather his family around him at the household hearth for a private meal. A mood is respected and the incident passes with little notice. If it is repeated, it is assumed that the nonsharer will soon move out and become an Independent. Nonsharing does become a touchy issue when food is scarce. We were experiencing hungry days during the height of the rainy season, most meals consisting of manioc cake dipped in peppers, fortified occasionally with a minnow. One late afternoon a household head entered the maloca with a

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## 84 THE CUBEO

261 string of two fish. Momentarily all eyes turned hungrily and happily  
 183 toward him, only to encounter the averted eyes that told plainly that  
 571 he was not going to share. The man walked directly to his own  
 ● 431 hearth and gave the fish to his wife, who was awaiting him there with  
 the children. She took the fish in silence and quickly set about pre-  
 paring it, never once turning her eyes out upon the maloca. The  
 house filled with an appetizing aroma that it had not experienced  
 for many days. Everyone pretended not to notice it. The little family  
 sat glumly around its pot of fish, eating in silence and with averted  
 eyes, observed only by the young children, who did not, however,  
 venture near. One man made an effort to break the melancholy spell  
 that had fallen over the maloca. The effort failed. A visitor to the  
 maloca the next morning, however, would have been unaware that  
 the previous night had been a miserable one.

261 During this same period of hunger I also saw a household head  
 183 prance into the house holding before him one little minnow. He  
 571 chanted in a comic vein a little ditty to the effect that he had singly  
 431 caught this monster of a fish and that now his wife would prepare it  
 522 and all would feast, putting an end to their hunger. With a grand  
 gesture he gave the fish to his wife, who giggled merrily and, helped  
 by the women, prepared it. The meal that followed was about the  
 gayest I had attended. This is correct procedure. A responsible house-  
 hold head does what he can to boost morale. The nonsharer has a  
 deadly influence upon a house and in the end he will have to leave.  
 The Cubeo know very well what nonsharing means: He does not  
 like us.

261 No one will be asked to leave his own kingroup except in a fit of  
 183 anger. Just as the boys of the play park will only stand aside as their  
 571 nonsharing comrade gulps his food privately, so the adults will do  
 431 nothing but pretend not to notice the nonsharer in their midst. "He  
 578 does not have to share his food if he does not want to," they say in  
 extenuation. When the nonsharer refuses to do his share of the  
 common work, he adds to the sense of grievance against him, but the  
 crisis is subacute. It becomes acute when his wife no longer goes to  
 the manioc garden and asks other women for manioc cake. Then it  
 will be said, "He has a lazy wife, they are not good." At the next  
 drinking party they quarrel, all the resentments are aired, and the  
 disaffected household departs. I was told, but could not verify it,  
 [754] that in the end chronic nonsharers are killed by sorcery. Such people,  
 it is said, become wanderers, imposing upon the hospitality of kin  
 and of friends. Since they are basically uncooperative they annoy  
 everyone until someone in a fit of anger decides to put them to death.

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There is no formal provision in Cubeo economy whereby food-stuffs, utensils, or productive equipment can accumulate disproportionately in any one household or in any one community. There are well-to-do communities and there are poor communities, the differences between them being due, however, almost entirely to their own state of morale, but also to differences in location. Location, as has been noted, follows the formal but functionally inconsequential ranking of the sibs. Upriver sibs may have some disadvantages, in fishing during the dry season. On the other hand, they have advantages in hunting. Tapir, for example, are more numerous upriver on the Cuduiari than downriver. Moreover, occupants of a river do have the privilege of fishing anywhere along its length. In this respect, the most important point to emphasize is that the Cubeo acknowledge the right of all who are not enemies to the available food resources. The economic domain of the tribes in the Vaupés area is, in fact, an extensive one. The sib territory is of course the economic center, but there is also available a vast periphery of supplementary economic zones. On the score of friendship and of bilateral kinship men acquire hunting and fishing rights in many different rivers. Thus, in his travels Koch-Grünberg met sections of tribes, including Cubeo, very far from their home base. The hospitality of the house is proverbial in this region and such domestic hospitality has its counterpart in a hospitality of the river or of the forest. It is the privilege of families to travel about, visiting community after community where they have either a kinship claim or a friendship claim. Everywhere the men are welcome as fishermen and as hunters and the women are assigned gardens. So long as visitors join the economic round they are welcome. It is even more accurate to say that they are eagerly welcomed, for nothing contributes more to the state of contentment of a community than the desire of others to join it. The issue, of course, is economic hospitality and not freedom of trespass. The right of trespass is the right to enter and to use an economic domain without taking formal cognizance of those who have a stronger or more traditional right to it. Such rights among the Cubeo are nonexistent. The rights of hospitality, on the other hand, obligate those who have entered a non-traditional economic domain to engage in the traditional forms of reciprocity that bind sibmen and phratry mates. When hunters kill a tapir in the domain of another sib they are not obligated to "pay tribute" but they do have a sense of obligation to give some of the meat to the host sib as part of a pattern of food reciprocity.

Underlying this relatively unrestricted access to food resources are two cultural conditions. One is that food for the Cubeo symbol-

## The ceremonial

friendship is an intimate relationship, indeed. The Cubeo expectation of it is that it have a quality of warmth and of privilege, if not beyond, then at least equal to a close, recognized kinship relationship. Since ceremonial friends are already sib or phratry mates, their relationship, if it is to have any meaning at all, must make them at least the equivalent of lineage kin; and that is what it is intended to do. Ceremonial friendship gives vividness and exclusiveness to sib and phratry relationships that are often too tepid and too generalized for Cubeo tastes.

When ceremonial friends are of opposite sex they forgo the erotic play that even brother and sister are supposedly allowed to indulge in, asserting, thereby, that theirs is the closest bond of friendship attainable. The relationship is often a substitute for a brother-sister pairing. Not every sibling line is so conveniently arranged as to provide for a brother-sister pairing. Hence, if no sister is allowed to a man he casts about for a girl of his age group and asks her to become his *hiko*. If she agrees he acquires the equivalent of an assigned sister, and she of a brother. They will form a team in an exchange marriage and they will exchange products. She will provide him with manioc for chicha, if he wishes to sponsor a drinking party, and she will prepare farinha for him, which he will use to trade for objects of white manufacture. He will reciprocate with appropriate gifts and with making household implements for her. When he is paid for his labor in the rubber forests he will surely bring cloth and trinkets for his *hiko*.

To cite one specific example of gift exchange between ceremonial friends: A man of a *Bahukiwa* subsib took a sib sister as his *hiko*. He gave her, immediately, cloth for two petticoats, two boxes of matches, two decorative combs, two small hand mirrors, thread and needles, two tins of brilliantine hair dressing, and a bar of soap. In return she gave him four big chicha serving calabashes, two balls of miriti twine, and a valuable necklace of silver triangles known as "butterflies." In addition, her father gave her two fishing bows to give to her ceremonial friend.

The relationship between *hikū* and *hiko* does fill the gap left by the normal imbalance between male and female siblings. But the Cubeo do not regard it as a mere substitute for a missing brother or a missing sister. Men who have sisters assigned to them still seek a *hiko*, if only to enjoy an individualized relationship of their own choice. If exchange marriage is not to be a central feature of the relationship, the *hikū* is still entitled to a gift from the groom at his

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*hiko's* marriage and he will expect to have been consulted so that he may consent to her marriage.

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Ceremonial friendship should be permanent, the Cubeo say. Whoever breaks it has become an enemy and his soul after death

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will be that of an insect and not of a human being. Marriage, of course, separates *hikü* and *hiko*, but they visit one another, as do brother and sister, bringing gifts, and they try to arrange the marriage of their children to one another. The *hikü* has the first claim

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upon his *hiko's* daughter as a bride for his son.

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Between members of the same sex, ceremonial friendship is also the equivalent of a blood sibling relationship except that they exchange gifts in a formal manner. Whereas a man has reason to suspect

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that his own brother might commit adultery with his wife, he believes that his *hikü* will never cuckold him. Still, when it comes to adultery even ceremonial friends sometimes succumb. Adultery or even flirting with a ceremonial friend's spouse is a principal cause for a break in this otherwise very stable relationship. A ceremonial friend who has been wronged by his partner retaliates by entering the offender's house to break or carry off everything belonging to him except the hammock. This act of vandalism declares the friendship broken. Eternal animosity succeeds it. Women are less inclined to seek a ceremonial friend among their own sex. When they do, they have acquired mainly a confidante. Since women are likely to be dispersed at marriage the pledge against adultery with one another's husband is of no great consequence.

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Ceremonial friends advise and assist one another. They feel that they actually have more freedom in their relationship with each other than they do with their own siblings. This may be correct, but I suspect that the Indians exaggerate the closeness of the relationship when talking about it. Ceremonial friends give up the use of their normal kinship designations in favor of the more intimate term.

Most ceremonial friendships are based upon simple reciprocity and so are modeled very closely, or I should say precisely, upon the sibling relationship. They satisfy in the main the longings of youths just before marriage and apparently fade with age. I was told that not everyone has a ceremonial friend but I could get no figures on its extent. Some ceremonial friendships model themselves after unequal kinship relationships, such as uncle-aunt or nephew-niece and grandparent-grandchild. These, I gathered, were not common and were rather aberrant forms of the true relationship. An older man takes a little girl as his *hiko* and is content with an unbal-

anced relationship in which he lavishes gifts upon her. "When she grows up," the Indians say, "she will repay him." A young man enters a friendship pact with an elderly widow because she has no one to look after her. This relationship, though, is like mother-son, and the woman will provide the young man with chicha and farinha if he has provided her with a manioc garden.

The Cubeo believe that ceremonial friendships persist in the afterlife. As spirits, they walk about arm-in-arm, one informant said, rapturously. The spirit of the friend who dies first hovers about the house until the other dies. It then leads its spirit friend away.

The ceremony for inaugurating ceremonial friendship is a simple one. At a drinking party, friends paint one another with red pigment which they refer to as "blood." Applying body paint to another, picking lice, or removing insect-bite scabs from the body is a gesture of intimacy normally confined to the immediate family. It is this intimacy that makes it appropriate between ceremonial friends.

Ceremonial friends tend to form a network. When a man has taken a girl as his *hiko* he is likely to take her brother as his *hikü*; his own brother will then take her sister as his *hiko* and so on. There are many network possibilities. Men who are *hikü* encourage their children to become ceremonial friends. The friendship network encompasses the phratry, giving to people special privileges of hospitality along the river. The network of kinship already encompasses the phratry, to be sure. But ceremonial friendship interlaces these bonds with the quality of close kinship. This seems to be its special significance. One may also look at the relationship from an economic point of view, noting the circulation of goods through its requirement of gift exchange. The Cubeo, however, are not so much property-minded as they are person-minded. The Cubeo joke about the gift aspect of ceremonial friendship and laughingly say that some people enter into the relationship with many people in order to acquire gifts. They are amused at the thought that a girl with many ceremonial friends will be a burden upon her suitor, who must make a gift to each ceremonial friend. The parents of young people are also burdened because they will be asked for something to be used as a gift. However, it is not goods they seek but intense relationships. It is not that the sib and the phratry fail to provide people with warmth and mutual assistance. The ordinary organization does this to a high degree. It seems, rather, that being virtually surrounded by "brothers" and "sisters" the Cubeo have exalted expectations of warmth and assistance which ceremonial friendship helps satisfy.

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men's section making a sucking sound with his lips. Having circled once, he proceeds to prepare the *mihí*. He prepares a quart, which is considered a great deal.

The younger men now fetch the *abúhuwa* masks, that have already been prepared except for final decorations and embellishments. A completed mask has the full sacred character and for that reason the last touches are put off until the very end. The same principle applies to *mihí*, coca, and chicha; they must be fresh or their potency will be lost. In the case of the masks, however, it is a matter of the spirits not being kept waiting. When people come to a ceremony they also complete their decorations just before entering the house, pausing at the canoe landing to do this. Hosts for their part arrange to complete their preparations almost at the moment the first guest arrives.

The first guests to arrive are the Satellites — members of the sib — who appear precisely at noon. They go first, informally, to the rear of the house, where they deliver a bundle of dried fish, a traditional Satellite food offering, to the headman of the sib. They then return to the canoe landing to prepare for a new and formal approach to the house. They carry heavy staffs or other weapons. The head of each Satellite household approaches the open doorway, strikes the side wall a resounding blow with his staff, and steps a few paces into the house, his sons behind him. Inside, the male hosts are in line in order of age seniority, the headman and chief mourner at the head. Each man holds either a staff or a loaded gun planted firmly at his side. Guests and hosts exchange formal greetings in a rapidly delivered dirge that is punctuated at intervals with a moaning sound *ee ee ee ee* followed by a whistling sound *i i i i*, as when *mihí* is brought in. The men, as is customary in formal greetings, do not look at one another but at some distant point past the other's shoulder. The guest moves down the line, spending about five minutes with each host, and the next is received in the same way. When the first arrival has passed down the line, he is given a calabash of chicha by a host, who leaves his place in line to do this. Women are greeted at the rear door by female hosts.

While the hosts safeguard themselves against sorcery by chewing the jaguars' bark cloth, the guests wear a little pouch at the throat for the same purpose. The effort to protect against sorcery is realistic, since the Cubeo regard every drinking party, an *dyne* in particular, as a prime occasion for a sorcerer to practice his art. These safeguards also carry out the theme of anger and implied hostility that characterizes the early stages of the *dyne*.

After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to